But proofs of their increase are the hundreds of new villages tilled by Kurds and built by them in the regions of Kubur el Bid, Amuda, and Derbassiya.

The Kurds like the Arabs, follow a tribal organization. Starting from the east, the Koshar tribe, mostly nomadic but recently turning to agriculture, dominates Jazirat ibn Amr, i.e., the region of Deink and Ain Diwar. The Koshar border Shammar on the south and they are on fighting terms because Nayefz Pasha, chief of the Koshar, killed the brother of Dham, chief of Shammar. Next to the west is the Shitiya tribe around Kubur el Bid. This tribe is old in the region. Its members are Arab in their dress and, in contrast with all the other Kurdish tribes, they speak Arabic as well as Kurdish. Its lands lie west of Shammar and more within the Tay region but its relations with both are friendly.

Qamishli, which is a Tay region, includes villages of the Pinar Ali tribe. But west of Qamishli comes a solid bloc of 100% Kurdish villages extending for more than sixty kilometers and reaching to the west of Dirbassiya practically uninterrupted by any Arab village. This area is undoubtedly one of the most fertile of Jazirah. Within it, the Dakkuriya tribe is centered around Amuda, then follow the Kikiya around Dirbassiya, and the Milliya from Dirbassiya to Ras el Ain.

The Kurds are considered very good farmers. They plow and plant with mules but they rent combines for the harvest. This is because they have learned that combine harvest is more economical. The Kurd is also greatly praised for his character. He is truthful, honest, and upright in his dealings. He keeps his word and the merchants of the Jazir trust him completely. He is also clean in his home and in his dress, and though Bedouins reproach him for not being generous in his house, his standard of living is higher than the Bedouin and his villages are much cleaner.

The Kurds owe allegiance to their Agha who takes the place of the Bedouin Sheik. But this relationship is weaker than is the case of the Bedouins. The successive Governments did not give the Agha grants of money or similar authority over his tribesmen in the manner of the Sheik. The Kurds were considered from the start sedentary people subject directly to Government laws. That is why most of the Kurds own and till their lands in their own right.

makes it the biggest river in Syria after the Euphrates. A short description of the Khabur valley was given earlier and the great possibilities of the river remain undeveloped. Unlike the Euphrates, especially in its lower reached, the Khabur valley is narrow. The alluvial plain does not extend more than five hundred meters on each bank in most places and then the land rises to a height of 10-50 meters over a distance of severl kilometers.

The alluvial plain along each bank has been more or less irrigated and planted by primitive methods such as the kard and the naqourah or dulab since old times. The kard can irrigate about fifteen dunums and the naqourah, if in good condition, can produce a flow of less than two inches of water and raise it to a height of a maximum six meters which is the diameter of the wheel. More prosperous Bedouins combine two or three naqourahs on the same axis and got a flow of about 3-5 inches. The naqourah is evidently a cheap way to raise water, but its construction is costly. Assuming that a Bedouin wants to build a naqourah on a new site, he has to erect a sort of a dam with stones on about half the river's width to raise the river's level and direct its flow towards his naqourah. Since stone is not abundant along the Khabur and has to be carried long distances, it becomes the job of specialized carpenters to construct the wheel, erect its supports, and balance it. This may cost another LS 1,500. The carpenter who constructs the wheel or naqourah becomes responsible for its maintenance and is paid yearly 11 percent of the yield of the land irrigated in lieu of wages.

The staple crops of the Khabur were formerly wheat in winter and sorghum in summer. Sorghum was preferred to every other summer crop because it provides food for both man and beast. Lately, the naqourah peasants began planting sesame and in the last two years cotton, but reverted this year to sorghum and sesame as the main summer crops.

Unlike the Kurdish or even the Bedouin peasant of northern Jazirah, the Khabur peasant is very poor and primitive. Rarely does he own one cow to use for plowing. Usually two or more farmers join to provide one team. For this reason the strip of land which he can cultivate for wheat or sesame does not exceed 20-30 dunums, of which half the yield goes to the owner of the land who provides water. This is to compare with 250-300 dunums cultivated by the Kurdish farmer, of which he has to pay only the rent of the combine for the harvest.

3121 flood waters and distribute them in summer. All these studies, and
654 it is not known how detailed they are, are believed to be kept at the French Legation in Beirut.

Such projects cost a lot of money, and Syria may not be able to construct them for many years. A quicker and less expensive policy is to combine elements from the system of irrigation by pumps and the system of gravity irrigation. This is the policy followed in Egypt, to dig canals conveying water from the river to areas ten or more kilometers removed and ten to twenty meters higher than the water level. Such dirt canals can be dug cheaply by modern machinery, and the farmers will then be authorized to install pumps on the canals. Since the greatest cost of an irrigation project is the construction of the main canal above the ground level, the method recommended removes the need for the elevated canals and the farmer can install his pump directly on the land to be irrigated. In this way, the farmer is spared also the loss due to evaporation and absorption on the elevated canal.

This is the quickest method to expand irrigated agriculture along the Khabur, and it may also prove in the long run cheaper to the country and the farmer than the elaborate dams and derivation canals contemplated by the Government. Such a conclusion needs, of course, more detailed engineering studies and comparison of costs before it becomes final.

III. The Problem of Monoculture

243 Wheat and barley are by far the main crops of the Jazirah and with the exception of the Khabur valley, they are practically the only crops. What the irrigated lands of Kubur el Bid and Qamishli produce in summer crops does not compare in quantity or in value with the wheat crop.

243 For this reason, Jazirah suffers from all the defects of mono-
571 culture. When the wheat crop is good and the prices are high land values increase, the farmers are enabled to pay most of their debts and to raise their standard of living by building better residences, buying furniture, making more trips with their families to the interior cities of Syria and Lebanon, sending their children to schools in Aleppo and Beirut, and increasing their welfare in general. But

when the wheat crop fails, as it did last year, there is great hardship in all of the Jazirah. Debts remain largely unpaid, the value of land falls off sharply, and interest rates become unbearable

The failure of a crop in Jazirah brings more hardship than is the case in other Mohafazas because Jazirah, with all the money revenue which accrues to it in a good year, has not arrived yet at the stage where it can save a part of this income to use in bad years. All the money revenue is immediately reinvested in machinery and in expansion of the area planted with additonal sums borrowed from the banks or from Aleppo merchants.

The point is reached where further expansion has become difficult, and the situation will become more or less stabilized so that some of the income will be put aside for emergencies in the coming few years. But even when savings reach a high figure, the problem of monoculture is not solved.

Jazirah at present does not produce the necessary vegetables and fruit for its own consumption. It imports them from Aleppo, Homs and Damascus. That is why the cost of living in the town of the Jazirah is one of the highest in Syria. Aside from the price of meat and samneh, everything including room and house rents, is more expensive than in the other big towns of Syria. Even flour is sold to bakers by the town municipalities at the same price for which it is sold in Damascus.

In former times, however, Jazirah produced great amounts of fruit, vegetables and dairy products. Its lands are very well suited to raising cattle and beef, an employment more profitable than wheat growing. A diversification in the use of land will make for a more balanced and prosperous economy in Jazirah. But the Jazirah farmers are not to be blamed entirely for the kind of agriculture prevailing. Circumstances beyond their control, connected primarily with the problems of land ownership and tenure, have largely imposed this type of monoculture upon them. These problems will be discussed in the following section, but it can be said in passing that the farmer cannot be expected to invest money in buildings for cattle raising, or in digging wells to provide irrigation for vegetable growing, or in planting orchards on lands to which he has no title or whose title is subject to constant disputes over boundaries with the neighbors and lately by decree-law 96 with the State.

433 such goods as Syria's few modern factories produce, have
439 between them severely limited the Syrian and Lebanese export trade.

439 According to the official statistics for 1938, the latest year
457 for which detailed figures are available, the main countries to which the French Mandated Territories exported goods were Iraq, Palestine, France, Transjordan, Italy, the United States and Egypt, in that order.[1] Much the most important exports were vegetable products and textile materials and goods. The total value of exports and re-exports (excluding the oil of Iraq) was some 892,232,000 francs (£5,028,000).[1] The chief countries from which goods were imported were Great Britain, France, Japan, the United States, Germany, Italy and Roumania. The main goods imported were textile materials and goods, metals and metal work, vegetable and mineral products; and the total value of imports was 1,707,696,000 francs (£9,059,000).[2] There was thus an adverse trade balance of 815,464,000 francs (£4,031,000) which was largely offset by the revenue from certain types of invisible export. For example large sums were brought into the country by the many thousands of tourists who visited it, and by the Egyptians, Palestinians, Iraqis and others who spent the summer in the hill-resorts of Lebanon. Again, considerable sums of money were sent home by emigrants in America and elsewhere; this item is now much less important than during the past, but it is still not negligible. A third type of invisible export was the foreign capital invested in the country, and foreign credit granted to merchants. In spite of these invisible exports, however, both the size of Syrian and Lebanese foreign trade and the discrepancy between imports and exports are unsatisfactory. The situation can be improved, first by an increase and diversification in production, and secondly by the discovery of external markets for the goods produced, either in the neighbouring countries or elsewhere.

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511 Syria and Lebanon are comparatively poor countries, and in spite of the changes which have taken place the standard of living in the countryside and among the poorer classes in

[1] For statistics of foreign trade, see Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, *Rapport, 1938*, pp. 199-202.

[2] Calculated at the rate of 177.45 francs, to the pound sterling. This was the average rate for December, 1938.

the towns is scarcely above subsistence-level. In most parts of the country the huts of the peasants, made of wattle or mud-brick or in parts of stone, contain nothing but the barest necessities; and the greater part of the population live on a diet of bread, olive-oil, milk and perhaps fruit and vegetables in season. Famine is rare, and has not occurred on a large scale since the First World War; but malnutrition is very widespread. On account of this and of the absence of sanitation and the scarcity of doctors in the country districts, the standard of health is also low. Malaria, typhoid, trachoma and other diseases are endemic. The standard of living is highest in Beirut and the Christian parts of Lebanon, which have profited greatly from the savings and experience of the emigrants to the New World.

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The changes in the economic system are beginning to cause far-reaching changes in the whole social structure. In the larger towns the externals of life are almost wholly modernized. Clothes and foodstuffs, the construction and furnishing of houses and methods of transport all approximate to those in use in Europe. The old externals it is true still linger on; the camel and the motor-car jostle one another in the streets of Damascus. But it is generally recognized, and on the whole without regret, that it is only a matter of time until the old completely disappears. In the small towns and villages of the Christian portions of Lebanon, too, the process of Westernization in externals has gone far. In the smaller towns and countryside of the interior, the change is slower in coming; but motor-cars and roads have prepared the way for it.

The fundamental social forms, however, are slower in changing. The dominant social class is still that of the landowners, who continue to possess a semi-feudal status. No other social class is strong or self-conscious enough to stand against them. The cultivators have little effective power of moving from one estate or region to another; although intelligent, they are too unenlightened to have much effective sense of grievance or capacity for political or economic combination. Only in parts of Lebanon does there exist a considerable number of free and comparatively enlightened smallholders. As yet there is neither an industrial middle

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ment will need to help private enterprise achieve these goals by collaborating, for instance, in the establishment of an institution to furnish technical and financial assistance, revising policies for the protection of industry from foreign competition and working towards the creation of a larger market for manufactured products, particularly through an intensification of economic cooperation among Arab countries.

To service the economy new and better roads and a larger supply of electric power are clearly necessary. Both of these call for a substantial increase in public investment. Transport is the most important bottleneck in the economy today; the acute shortage of power in major centers such as Aleppo and Damascus is already receiving government attention.

While expansion of the production base of the economy is the paramount task of the future, education, public health and the social services will also make greater claims on the government's resources. A further extension of educational facilities is undoubtedly necessary, but at the same time more stress must be placed on improving the quality and content of education. The condition of public health still leaves much to be desired. While the most urgent deficiencies in hospital accommodations must be remedied, the most pressing need is to concentrate increasingly on the prevention of disease by such measures as an anti-malarial campaign, improvements in sanitation and provision of pure water supplies. A marked and general improvement in housing conditions is likely to result only from a substantial increase in production and improvement of living standards but the government should at least assist the larger municipalities to initiate a program to cope with the worst conditions of housing congestion, a by-product of rapid but uneven economic growth.

A program of this type, which we shall elaborate in subsequent chapters of this report, should lay the foundation for a renewed and continued economic advance. It will serve not simply to compensate for a possible slackening of private investment but above all to create ultimately increased opportunities for greater private investment and enterprise which will expand production and raise standards of living.

The government has become increasingly aware of the task that lies ahead. Its request for an International Bank mission to work out recommendations for development testifies in part to its concern. It realizes that despite the economic progress of the past, the country cannot be satisfied with the current state of development and the standard of living it sustains. National income is still only around £S 440 per capita. Moreover,

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511 with the wide disparities in income, the great majority of people have an income substantially under this average. The bulk of the rural population remains impoverished and does not share adequately in the fruits of its toil. In the urban areas many people earn only a bare livelihood and live in wretched, overcrowded conditions. In industry the daily wage of unskilled labor is no more than £S 3 to £S 4. In the future, therefore, the aim should be not simply to raise production and national income but to ensure that all elements in the population share equitably in the benefits of economic development.

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encouraging results have been achieved. The justification for a special organization rests primarily on the fact that a properly conceived village improvement program transcends the bounds of agriculture. Its principal task, of course, will always be to raise the standards of agriculture and animal husbandry, the source of livelihood of the villagers. Yet the living conditions of the 2,000,000 people living in villages of less than 5,000 inhabitants must be improved as a whole. Standards of housing, health and sanitation, and adult education must be raised, and better roads and community facilities provided. Moreover, the need for special techniques in approaching this entire problem argues in favor of a special organization. The government has neither the staff nor the funds to carry out all the urgent village improvements itself. Its task must be rather to stimulate and assist the villagers in mobilizing their resources for self-help. Only in this way can a development program achieve worthwhile results at the village level.

The program the mission has in mind calls for the progressive introduction of rural community leaders or workers into the villages. One community worker for about 4,000 people should suffice, and if on this basis he must cover a number of villages over an extended area, he should have an assistant, selected preferably from among the rural school teachers. The community worker, though a government employee, should have no administrative duties. His sole function should be to encourage and crystallize the villagers' desire for improvement. His training should be primarily agricultural, but he should also have sufficient knowledge of the other aspects of village life to suggest what can be done. Most of the things which can or should be done to better living conditions are rather elementary. The knowledge of the community worker, therefore, need not be profound. Moreover, he would be able to call upon the specialized services of the government for advice and assistance in dealing with problems with which he himself cannot cope. For instance, he should know enough to identify and prescribe measures for most of the prevalent diseases and pests which attack crops and livestock, but he may need help from the veterinarian or pathological service to deal with difficult cases or extensive outbreaks of disease. If he can awaken an interest in cooperatives, he will then need to call in a credit supervisor from the Agricultural Bank or an expert from the Ministry of Agriculture to launch one. He may get the villagers to start a program of constructing latrines, but need advice from the sanitation experts of the Ministry of Health on methods of construc-

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ANNEX C *NOTES ON AGRICULTURE*

1 POPULATION, REGIONS AND SOILS

Rural Population

Syria's agricultural population can be divided into groups differentiated by their social order.

Nomadic tribes. Bedouin tribespeople form an important unit of the rural population, numbering an estimated 150,000 and living in various stages of settlement from pure pastoral nomadism to almost permanent agricultural communities. Among the larger tribes the Tay and part of the Jubur have become practically sedentary, the Shammar and Shashans remaining nomadic or semi-nomadic. There are also numerous small nomadic tribes roaming the desert between the cultivated belt and the Jordan border. These harvest the scanty desert grass with their flocks of sheep and goats and their herds of camel and a few cattle, and contribute considerably to the country's livestock production. A large part of Syria's meat, wool and dairy products is produced by the Bedouins. Their standards of living and education are quite low.

The increasing exploitation of arable land for crop production during recent decades correspondingly reduced the grazing area and, may, if continued, threaten a considerable reduction in livestock.

Settled villagers. The nearly two million villagers spread over 5,500 compact villages form the most important segment of the agricultural population. They are the true cultivators of the soil whether they own the land or work on it as tenants or laborers. A large number farm entirely for subsistence. Even where there are large community pasture lands, the farms are usually small, frequently too small to give an economic return. Consequently incomes are generally low and many landowners, tenants and sharecroppers are constantly indebted to moneylenders. Although illiteracy among the villagers is on the decrease, education remains at a low standard.

The village people produce most of the crops, raise part of the livestock and supply the country with the bulk of its food and raw materials. Their agricultural activity as a rule is dominated by manual and draft animal

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operation, in striking contrast to large private holdings where the most modern machinery is used. Measures to raise the standard of living of this group must be one of the main objectives of any development program; in the first instance this must be effected through education, improved systems of land tenure, and better credit facilities.

Lessees and landlords. Some city dwellers have interests in agriculture as leasehold operators of tracts of state domain, or as absentee landlords. Although their interests rarely coincide with the demands of sound long-term farming practices, this segment of the population has been instrumental in opening new farm tracts (such as the Jezireh) and in introducing new crops, thereby contributing much to the national economy. The cultivation of the large absentee holdings is generally left to sharecroppers.

Sharecroppers. Each sharecropper is assigned a parcel of land from which, after the apportionment of the crop, he can hope to gain little more than a bare subsistence. In rainfed areas the sharecropper customarily receives rather less than 30% of the crop if he provides only his labor and around 70–75% if he also supplies the working capital; the percentages may be slightly higher in sparsely populated areas, and lower where population pressure is heavier. On irrigated lands the landlord takes 65–75% of the crop if he provides seed and water, and about half if the sharecropper provides the working capital.

In the long run, the position of the sharecropper would be more tolerable if the productivity of the land and his share of it were raised. At present, yearly land assignments may vary, with the result that the cropper has no incentive to improve the land. The restricted area of the assignment and lack of proper equipment, draft animals and money capital contribute to the permanent indebtedness of sharecroppers and their very low standard of living. Measures to improve their lot should include improved tenure status, Agricultural Bank and cooperative assistance in providing working and fixed capital, and resettlement schemes to relieve local land pressure.[1]

Agricultural Regions

In terms of natural conditions and the types of agriculture practiced, Syria can be divided in nine main agricultural regions.

The Hauran and the Djebel Druze. The Hauran and the Djebel Druze includes the mountains of the Djebel Druze and the Julani in the south-

[1] See Chapter 3, Sections III and VI, of the Main Report.

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In neither country is there an officer caste or a strong military tradition, though the present Syrian regime is trying to create one.

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Social Survey

The ruling class in both countries is drawn from wealthy families; titles do not exist and the 'old' rich families, whose position and wealth come from land, mix freely with the 'new' rich families, whose money comes from commerce. There is no stigma in engaging in trade and even members of the upper class are merchants. A middle class of functionaries and employees has been growing up since 1948 in the three main cities. Their flats, between the splendour of the rich quarter and the huddle of the *suq*, are being built in quantities and their new, middle-class way of life is based on European standards. The mass of the people are artisans and labourers. The urban artisan approaches the middle class and the rural labourer approaches the hard life of the nomad; for the farm labourer the standard of living is generally low.

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The Press

The press of both countries is important but no one paper or group of papers has established an ascendancy. Damascus had at one time over twenty daily papers none of which could guarantee a circulation of over 3,000. The same state of affairs holds true in Beirut where most parties issue Arabic and in some cases French papers; there are also Armenian newspapers and one English daily.

Individual Lebanese have founded papers and *Le Commerce du Levant*, published in Beirut, has a standing comparable with *La Bourse Egyptienne*. In both countries press censorship has frequently closed down a paper only for it to re-emerge under another name, and in Syria the military dictatorship has reduced the press to a mere mouthpiece of official propaganda.

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Education

In both countries there are primary and secondary schools, and the number of schools and students increase each year. Primary education is compulsory, and although reliable figures of literacy are not available,[1] it may be assumed that the percentage of illiterates is decreasing in both countries, but is higher in Syria than in Lebanon. In Syria, most of the schools are run by the state and of the private schools (which are

[1] An estimate for Syria for 1947 given in UN, Dept. of Social Affairs, *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, 1952, was 40–50 per cent.

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crease the productivity per acre and also to expand the cultivated area per head.

In the Lebanon, however, with its steep hillsides under intensive cultivation, there is a definite pressure on land resources. The limits of intensification appear to have been reached, and a large part of the village population supplements its income by work in the towns, and by remittances from abroad. If the land tenure system in Syria were less oppressive, room might be found on the land for settlers from the Lebanon, but as things are, the standard of living and status of the Lebanese peasant is higher; compared with the Syrian peasant he is a free man, and there is no inducement to leave the Mountain for the underpopulated plains of central or northern Syria.

LAND TENURE

Corresponding to these different methods of farming, there are different systems of land tenure.[1] In Lebanon individual small ownership is well established, and the pattern of village life, with its broad class of small peasant owners, few large farmers, and a growing class of landless labourers, resembles that of Europe.

In Syria, the greater part of the land is owned by city notables—the ruling class—and cultivated by small share-tenants. Though individual ownership exists in some districts, for instance the Beqa Valley and the oasis of Damascus, the most usual form of landownership in the plain districts of Syria is share-tenancy. The villagers bring their corn to the village threshing floor, and when the grain is threshed the landlord or his agent stands by and takes one-half of the grain. Towards this result he has contributed nothing; all labour, equipment, seeds, livestock, have been supplied by the tenant, so that his share is rent purely for the use of the land. The landlord is almost always an absentee, a city notable who only visits the land to collect rent.

The share taken by the landlord varies from district to district, and also varies with the condition of the land. According to an inquiry made by the French authorities, the usual division of the crop for non-irrigated cereals is 40–50 per cent to the

[1] The information which follows is mainly based on A. Latron, *La Vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban* (Beirut, L'Institut Français de Damas, 1936). The brilliant and profound study by Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, is an indispensable authority which unfortunately was received only after going to press.

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Wheat yields are lower than the average for Syria, averaging 4 hundredweight to the acre.

Almost the whole of the estate is let to share-tenants who are supervised by an agent, the landowners themselves rarely visiting the estate. The share of the crop taken by the landlord is 25 per cent on non-irrigated land and 42½ per cent on irrigated land. These shares are more favourable to the tenant than is usual, because it is desired to attract more labour to the estate which sixty years ago was quite uncultivated. As elsewhere, the tenants have no leases but live in fear of eviction.

The tenants are divided into five classes:[1]

1. Large tenants cultivating 6 feddans (225 acres) of non-irrigated land: 4 in number.

2. Medium sized tenants cultivating 4½ feddans (168¾ acres): 4 in number.

3. Small tenants cultivating 3 feddans (112½ acres): 60 in number.

4. Small tenants cultivating irrigated land and with an average area of 18 acres: 100 in number.

5. Wage labourers, who form the majority of the villagers.

Of these classes, only the small groups of large and medium-sized tenants can live well, in the sense that the output of the farm suffices to cover the essential needs of the family and also provides a small cash surplus. The surplus is used to buy gold pounds and jewellery. But the other groups cannot achieve even a sufficient standard of food consumption. The standard consumption of wheat (barley in the case of the very poor peasants) is 14 kilogrammes of grain per month; to achieve this level it is necessary to crop about 45 acres. Thus with the present system of cultivation, the class of small tenants, who cultivate an area of 112 acres and would appear to have quite sufficient land, cannot attain the minimum because only one-third, 35 acres, can be cultivated owing to shortage of live-stock.

These small tenants, who are typical of the farmers in the great plains of Syria, are very poor, living in one- or two-roomed mud huts, and when there is only one room, sharing it with their animals.

[1] It must be said that the feddan in Syria is a variable measure and here is equivalent to 37½ acres.

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their animals. Malaria is prevalent. The majority are heavily indebted. The tenants on the irrigated land, with an average holding of 18 acres, are also poor but less heavily indebted, because they can depend on a more regular income.

The poorest class are the landless labourers whose income in money and kind amounts to 530 Syrian pounds a year (1944) (£10 at 1939 prices).[1] This is a starvation wage, which means that they can only eat enough in harvest time, and in winter must subsist on maize, bread, and grass.

The poverty on this estate is therefore a result of the low productivity and the low proportion of the area under cultivation. One way of increasing the area cultivated would be by the use of machinery. Tractors were introduced some fifteen years ago, but proved too costly in relation to the low prices of Syrian grain; owing to lack of skilled drivers and proper maintenance they fell into disrepair. During the late war, however, as the price of grain rose, tractors were again used by some tenants who hired them from neighbouring estates.

Another way of raising production would be to increase irrigation since there is sufficient water to supply much more land. In this respect the estate is typical of the whole Homs–Hama plain, where much of the water which the French authorities have made available by irrigation goes to waste.

On this estate, therefore, the poverty of the cultivators is due to the landowner's failure to increase the productivity of the soil, rather than to his exploitation of the peasants; compared with other estates, this one is socially progressive, since the landowner's family have set up a school and also distribute medicines free of charge.

The second study covers a more intensively cultivated village, Ashrafie on the borders of the irrigated district of Damascus. Less heavily supplied with water than El Ghuta itself, Ashrafie has sufficient water to irrigate 10 per cent of the total land. The total area is 1:600 hectares or 4,000 acres, of which 2,400 are owned by four estate owners and the rest by peasants. The largest landowner is an absentee, letting his land on a 50 per cent share-tenancy basis, with definite three-year leases (by contrast with the usual custom under which the tenant has no lease).

[1] This is calculated on a rate of 9 Syrian pounds to £1, allowing for a six-fold increase in the Syrian cost of living between 1939 and 1944.

[The estate of Misherfe, near Homs -- Analyst]

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LAND TENURE

Of the total 160 families in the village, 100 own some land and 60 own no land. The peasant owners are divided as follows

1. Rich farmers, owning about 10 hectares ..	5	families
2. Medium farmers, owning from 3 to 8 hectares	80	"
3. Poor farmers, owning between 1 and 3 hectares	15	"
4. Share-tenants	10	"
5. Labourers	50	"

As in Misherfe, two-thirds of the land is uncropped each year. The peasant divides the land into three plots, one sown with a crop, one ploughed but not sown, and one fallow. The wheat yield is slightly higher than the average for Syria, and amounts to 833 kilogrammes per hectare (6½ hundredweight per acre); barley yields are also slightly higher, being 8 hundredweight to the acre.

As a result of the more equal distribution of land, rather better yields, and more irrigation, the standard of living is better than in Misherfe. The first two classes, including half the families, can reach an adequate standard of consumption of food and other essentials, which is reckoned to be 25 kilogrammes of wheat per month, 1 kilogramme of meat per month (i.e. one sheep a year), 40 kilogrammes of olive oil and 20 kilogrammes of 'samn' per year, 4 tins of kerosene and a small quantity of clothing. The remainder of the village, about one-half of the total, that is the poor peasants, labourers, and share-tenants, are unable to reach this standard and live in great poverty, in one-roomed huts. The majority of these cultivators are heavily indebted, and the burden of indebtedness has doubled during the war years, because debts are usually incurred in gold.

The third study relates to Kfer Sa'ab in the north Lebanon, a hill village of small owner-cultivators. Of the total area of 200 hectares, about 30 are owned by the sheikh of the village. The total number of families is 150 (1,200 people), of which 120 own land and 30 are landless. A few peasant owners are rich with 5 hectares of land; 60 are medium owners with 1·5 to 2·5 hectares of land, and 25 own 0·5 to 1·5. Here cultivation is much more intensive than in Syria, and half the land is irrigated.

[Ashrafie, near Damascus -- Analyst]

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There are some possibilities of raising yields in dry farming, but they are limited, and the main hope for increasing farm incomes is a better use of water supplies.

The second conclusion is that in every district half or more than half of the population live in extreme poverty, due to the low proportion of land cultivated, low yields, and the unequal distribution of land. In Lebanon, surplus rural population is the major cause of poverty. There is no motive-power making for progress: even richer peasants do not invest, but spend unproductively: the landlords are pure rent-receivers: and the poorer peasants are entangled in a network of debt without hope of escape.

FRENCH LAND POLICY

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In regard to the *mushaa* system, which was widely prevalent at the time the French took over, the French authorities have hastened the process of disintegration. By decrees passed in 1925 and 1926 the periodical re-allotment of holdings (i.e., the *mushaa* custom) was forbidden. Since the work of survey and settlement did not keep pace with the legislative enactment, this law meant an abrupt interference with village custom which contributed to agrarian unrest, particularly in the Hauran, where the *mushaa* custom was general. It appears to have been largely disregarded, and not to have been put into force by the Bureau de Cadastre (the French Survey Office, which is a private concession and not a government department), which undertook the work of land settlement.

M. Duraffourd, the Director of the Bureau de Cadastre, considered that the *mushaa* custom had a real basis in the social life of the country and should not be abolished. Moreover it had often happened in Turkish times that title to land had been granted in divided holdings, but the titles were disregarded by the occupiers of the land, who continued to exchange their shares as before. The Bureau de Cadastre, therefore, when establishing title to land in a *mushaa* village have followed the practice of registering each villager's share in the land as a fraction of the total area, without attaching the title to any specific piece of land. This method tends to preserve the *mushaa* system. When title is registered to definite pieces of land, the Bureau de Cadastre have attempted in some cases to re-group the holdings

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the land. In 1926–31, 182 villages comprising 181,000 hectares were colonized in small properties by 6,000 families. The Government of Latakia compelled large proprietors in the region of Homs to give up their villages in the district of Masyaf in 1929; the land was distributed among the occupying peasants and sold to them at a price to be paid for in ten annual instalments. The village of Jib Ramle was also settled in 1929, in part by occupying peasants, in part by refugee Armenians.

But the French administration did not complete the settlement of these areas. In some regions the Turks settled these lands with nomad tribes, who were themselves averse to cultivation and either rented the land to Alawi villagers or continued to live themselves as nomads on the land without cultivating much of it. Consequently this land is now very sparsely settled. Round Homs there are said to be 2,000 to 4,000 hectares with only 10 per cent of the land cultivated: this is some of the most fertile and best situated land in the country, and could be developed by colonization schemes.

In several respects the French authorities have modified the Turkish system in ways which strengthen the landowners against the cultivators. One of these was the sale of the extensive *Waqf* properties to business enterprises, irrigation concessions, or landowners. Another was the abrogation of the right of ownership acquired by ten years cultivation which benefited the small cultivators in enabling them to acquire new land.

Efforts were made to start co-operative and agricultural credit banks, but these never succeeded in breaking the peasant's indebtedness. Several large-scale irrigation schemes were started, but produced more water than could be used. The educational system did not extend to the villages. Within the framework of the existing system, these reforms did little to raise the standard of the peasants. As a mandatory Power the French relied on the collaboration of the wealthy upper class, that is, on the landowners, and so could make no fundamental reforms in the land system.

POSSIBILITIES OF DEVELOPMENT

So far as dry land farming is concerned the possibilities of improvement are hampered by the dry summer, which necessitates a long period of fallow. However, it would be possible by

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Within this belt there is a large area of cultivable land still uncultivated, mainly for reasons of shortage of labour, lack of means of communication, and political insecurity. Uncultivated land is generally used for grazing, and in the 'Duck's Bill' the grass grows high enough for hay cutting. At present the cultivated area is some 481,500 hectares (1,188,000 acres), and it is estimated that an area about as large again remains uncultivated.

The population at present numbers 111,300, of which half are Kurds. Owing to its remoteness and unsettled state, there has been no survey and settlement of land title. New land is taken under cultivation under the old Ottoman right by which ownership is acquired if cultivation can be proved for ten consecutive years.

In the Jezira most of the land is held by large cultivators. In the Euphrates province much of the land has until recently been owned by the villagers, but now the land is passing into the hands of city landowners as pump irrigation is introduced (as in Iraq). The pumps and buckets are supplied against payment in kind by the town merchant or moneyed class; wherever irrigation brings more lands under cultivation, the ownership of the extra land is divided equally between the villagers and the suppliers of water.

The system of tenure is the usual share-tenancy; in the Jezira, according to local custom, the landlord takes one-eighth of the crop to pay taxes, and the remainder is shared equally between landlord and cultivator, the proportion being determined by the supply of labour. With the introduction of machinery—there were about thirty tractors in the area in 1942—the division into employer and labourers has developed: the landowner using the tractor on the land and employing wage labour.

Owing to the scarcity of labour, the position of the agricultural labourer in the Jezira area is better than in the rest of Syria. Health conditions, however, are bad: the Kurds suffer from trachoma and villagers in the Kamichlia district from malaria. In the Euphrates region, the position is worse: the agricultural labourer is weak and underfed, living a hand to mouth existence and exploited by all.

Both in the Jezira and in the Euphrates region there is scope

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COTTON IN SYRIA

United States mission estimated that 50 per cent of the land was in fallow during 1948.[21] Increased irrigation and high prices for agricultural commodities have reduced significantly the fallow in the past few years, and the percentage may be less now.

PRODUCTION

Syria is normally self-sufficient in most foods. In fact, the country exports fresh and dried fruits, lentils and other legumes, tobacco, wool, butter, hides, and meat. Occasional poor harvests make it necessary to import food grains.

The greatest deficiency is in rice, which has been displaced by cotton in recent years to such an extent that almost all of the country's requirements must be imported. Last year's bad cotton crop may prompt farmers to revert to rice and, if so, this will reduce the deficiency.

Government figures indicate that production of food has not kept pace with the expansion in population and that the per capita food supply and individual calorie intake are both declining.[22] These conclusions are based on highly conjectural statistics and are in conflict with opinions of the United States Agricultural Attache and Syrian officials who are intimately acquainted with the country's agricultural problems. These observers believe there has been no real decline in food consumption, except possibly for short periods of time. Certainly there is no shortage now, and the bumper cereal crop in 1952 should enable the country to fill domestic needs and export at least 30 per cent of its wheat and possibly 50 per cent of its barley.

The daily diet consists largely of starches, it is true, but this is due more to habit than anything else. The resources of the country are ample to permit a much more balanced diet.

PRODUCTIVITY

Syrian agriculture often is characterized by the low productivity of the agricultural worker. It is obvious that a great many more people are used on each acre of land than is necessary. The low agricultural income is reflected in the obvious poverty of the people. Yet, comparisons with other countries, and even detailed calculations, are of questionable value due to the unreliability of the statistics.

Government reports on average yields also are open to question. Official figures show that wheat yields have dropped sharply, while cotton yields have tended upward, except for the extremely bad year in 1951-52. They also show very wide fluctuation. Experienced observers point out that the yields are especially questionable because both acreage and production figures are not reliable. On the basis of conversations with producers in various sections, it is apparent that yields are normally fairly high and that they fluctuate, depending on water availability and on insect devastation.

POTENTIALITIES

A number of missions which have studied the possibilities of agricultural development in Syria, especially in the last five or six years, all mention the

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[21] *Activities of FAO, 1950-52*, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1952, p. 58.

[22] *Development of Food and Agricultural Resources in the Near East*, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome, November, 1951.

of agriculture are the present forms of land tenure. The proportion of large- and small-scale proprietors is not accurately known, but at least one half of the total farm acreage is owned by wealthy, and often absentee, landlords, and worked according to the share-tenancy system. In many northern districts, particularly in Latakia and Al Jazira provinces, the proportion is probably closer to 70 to 80 per cent. Communal ownership by tribes or villages is also common in some areas. The constitution of Syria provides for the creation of a landowning peasantry through the redistribution and the sale of state lands, but as yet the percentage of independent farmers is relatively small. Many tenant families and agricultural laborers live at subsistence levels under conditions of extreme poverty. Within recent years attempts have been made to encourage the settlement of the Bedouin tribes. Some now live in permanent villages, where they combine cultivation of cereals with the raising of sheep, migrating seasonally with their flocks in search of pasturage.

Wheat is the principal crop. Barley, maize and other cereals are also grown, especially in the areas of Homs, Hama, Hauran and Al Jazira. Olives, fruits and vegetables are important products on the oasis around Damascus and in the coastal region. Cotton is cultivated in Latakia, Aleppo and Al Jazira provinces, while tobacco flourishes in some sections of Latakia. Other industrial crops include sugar cane, sugar beets, sesame, castor oil beans and hemp. Sheep and goats are abundant in all parts of the country, but cattle are found chiefly in the coastal highlands, on the Damascus oasis and in the Hauran region in the southwest. Limited programs for the improvement of methods of farming and animal husbandry are undertaken by the veterinary and the agricultural services of the government. Four agricultural schools are operated by the Ministry of Agriculture—near Latakia, Hama, Aleppo and Damascus. In the Damascus region, the Near East Foundation

83-Simmons et al G-6 (1941-1951) 1964
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SYRIA MD1

variation exists between the living conditions of the more prosperous farmers and of the peasants, many of the latter possessing little beyond the barest necessities.

The larger cities, as Damascus and Aleppo, have been important junctions on trade routes from India to the Mediterranean for centuries, and reflect the influence of both Eastern and Western civilizations. They are a combination of the old Arab-type city and the modern, with most of the amenities of urban life. The older sections are usually made up of several quarters, dominated by different racial or religious groups. The houses are constructed of stone, brick or reinforced concrete and stucco, with flat or tiled roofs. In Damascus, about one third of the inhabitants live within the limits of the ancient city and a third in the modern residential developments.

The Bedouin follow essentially the same pattern of life in Syria as in other countries of the Near and Middle East. The nomadic tribes dwell in tents made of goats' hair, usually in close association with their livestock. Their standards of living are primitive, both in the tent encampments and the semipastoral settlements.

ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

Water Supplies

Water supplies are deficient in many sections of the country, and acute shortages may be experienced during the dry season. In the rural areas, domestic supplies are obtained from deep or shallow wells, springs or rivers, and sometimes from rain-water cisterns. *Kowazes*, or wells connected by underground conduits which often extend for several miles, and waterholes, dug in the plains or near watercourses, are used in some districts. The village supplies are frequently polluted and responsible for the spread of intestinal infections.

The water supply of Damascus is taken from an underground reservoir at 'Ain el Fije, which is fed by springs in the Anti-

144 co-operation with the Near East Foundation and other agencies. Similar operations have also been conducted by the Ministry in the town of Latakia and in the administrative center and the adjacent farms in the Jebel ed Druz area. In 1950, the government program covered a total of 224 villages, with an aggregate population of slightly over 180,000. A shortage of DDT necessitated the curtailment of the program in 1951, but the Ministry proposes to expand its activities to other malarious districts throughout the country as rapidly as possible. A demonstration control program was started in 1952 in the vicinity of Homs under the auspices of the World Health Organization. Anopheline control measures are carried on by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in and around the refugee camps situated in malarious regions.

136 164 FLIES. Flies of the family MUSCIDAE are numerous, including *Musca domestica vicina*, *M. tempestiva*, *M. sorbens*, *M. vitripennis* and *Muscina stabulans*. They are abundant around markets, food shops and dwellings, and are undoubtedly implicated in the spread of intestinal infections. The stable fly, *Stomoxys calcitrans*, is prevalent. The myiasis-producing flies, *Chrysomyia albiceps*, *Calliphora erythrocephala*, *Oestris ovis*, *Lucilia sericata*, *Gasterophilus haemorrhoidalis*, *Wohlfahrtia magnifica* and species of *Sarcophaga* are known to be present, and are probably responsible for occasional cases of infection in man.

At least 6 species of sandflies are found in Syria. *Phlebotomus papatasii* and *P. sergenti* are involved in the transmission of cutaneous leishmaniasis, which is endemic in many parts of the country, particularly in the vicinity of Aleppo. *P. chinensis* and *P. major* occur and are potential vectors of visceral leishmaniasis, although the extent of indigenous infection is uncertain. *P. papatasii* is also the vector of sandfly fever, which is sporadic in this region.

144 136 571 A fly-control campaign was inaugurated in Damascus in 1946. The dwellings in the poorer sections of the city and the tanneries,

144 136 511 the refuse dumps and other breeding sites are sprayed with DDT preparations at intervals between May and October.

136 511 361 LICE. Infestation with lice is common among the inhabitants in the congested quarters of the towns and in the villages and the Bedouin encampments. *Pediculus humanus corporis* is important as the vector of typhus fever; cases are reported almost annually. *P. humanus capitis* and *Phthirus pubis* are somewhat less frequent.

136 164 FLEAS. Numerous species of fleas parasitize the wild and the domestic rodents. The rat flea, *Xenopsylla cheopis*, is prevalent: it is the vector in sporadic cases of murine typhus, and in past decades it was implicated in the transmission of plague. The human flea, *Pulex irritans*, and the cat and the dog fleas, *Ctenocephalides felis* and *C. canis*, are widely distributed. The stick-tight flea, *Echidnophaga gallinacea*, sometimes attacks man, but it is of no known medical significance.

136 BEDBUGS. *Cimex lectularius* is an annoying pest in all parts of the country.

136 232 164 TICKS AND MITES. A variety of ticks, including *Rhipicephalus sanguineus* and several species of *Hyalomma*, infest the livestock. *Ornithodorus tholozani* is found in the rural areas, where it is the local vector of tick-borne relapsing fever.

136 164 The grain itch mite, *Pediculoides ventricosus*, is plentiful in the grain-producing regions. It frequently attacks man, causing a painful rash. The human itch mite, *Sarcoptes scabiei*, is widely distributed, but it is decreasing steadily in prevalence.

136 752 SCORPIONS AND SPIDERS. Several species of scorpions are present, including *Buthus quinquestriatus*, *B. judaicus*, *B. crassicauda* and *B. europeus*, and *Scorpio maurus propinquus* and *S. maurus fucus*. Serious systemic effects resulting from scorpion stings [135] are rare, but deaths are sometimes recorded among young children, usually after attacks by *B. quinquestriatus*.

136 The poisonous black spider, *Latrodectus tredecimguttatus*, is found in some localities.

p. 144(B)

age about 5 per cent. Pulmonary complications are generally responsible for a high mortality among the Bedouin children. Mumps, whooping cough and chickenpox are endemic, and often epidemic. 165 164 361

Meningococcus meningitis is sporadic. In the 12 years 1939-50, from 14 to 58 cases were reported annually, except in 1944, when the known incidence totaled 135 cases. 164

Occasional cases of diphtheria are observed, usually among children in the preschool and the school age groups. A high rate of subclinical infection undoubtedly exists, however, as demonstrated by Schick test studies.[25] Scarlet fever is relatively rare, although a few cases are reported each year. Streptococcus infections of the throat are common.

Poliomyelitis is seldom reported. No outbreaks have been recorded, but sporadic cases are sometimes encountered.

Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Contact

Venereal Diseases. All forms of venereal disease are present, but little information is available from which to determine their actual prevalence. Syphilis is widely distributed, while gonorrhea occurs primarily in the cities and the towns. Soft chancre is sometimes seen among the poorer inhabitants, but lymphogranuloma inguinale is comparatively rare. [511]

The nonvenereal treponemal infection, usually designated by the Arab term *bejel*, is common among the nomadic and the seminomadic populations in the Euphrates and the Al Jazira regions. The most prominent endemic foci are probably in the vicinity of Deir ez Zor, Raqqa and Meyadin. The disease is associated with low standards of living, and in the majority of cases infection is acquired in early childhood. Surveys have indicated that roughly 60 per cent of the above peoples in Euphrates and Al Jazira provinces are affected, while among some Bedouin tribes the infection rates approach 90 to 100 per cent. In different clinical and serologic studies, made at the mis- 164 361

p. 153(A)

164 Alawites and 68 per cent among the Ismail-
563 ites. Trachoma is one of the principal causes of blindness, in spite of the fact that, in the opinion of many local observers, a large percentage of uncomplicated cases exhibit a tendency to spontaneous cure.

164 Gonococcal and other types of infectious conjunctivitis are common. In a series of 315 conjunctival examinations, reported in 1931,[19] from the mission hospital at Deir ez Zor, *Hemophilus lacunatus* (Morax-Axenfeld bacillus) was identified in 34 per cent, *H. conjunctivitidis* (Koch-Weeks bacillus) in about 10 per cent and *Neisseria gonorrhoeae* in 5 per cent, while different pyogenic cocci were found in the remainder.

164 Diseases of the Skin. As is to be ex-
515 pected, in view of the widespread ignorance
758 of the principles of personal hygiene and the scarcity of water in many areas, skin diseases are prevalent. They represented almost 10 per cent of the total cases treated in government hospitals and clinics in 1949.

164 Mycotic infections are numerous, with ring-
361 worm of the scalp predominating in most
571 localities. Impetigo and scabies are widespread, particularly among children in the rural villages. Pediculosis is almost universal among the inhabitants of the poorer, congested communities, both urban and rural. Occasional cases of human myiasis are encountered. A form of dermatitis, caused by the bite of *Phlebotomus papatasii* and other sandflies, is sometimes encountered among susceptible individuals in the summer months.

164 Leprosy. Endemic foci of leprosy exist in various parts of the country, but primarily in Hauran and Latakia provinces. The extent of infection is not accurately known, and estimates of prevalence range from 90 to 250 cases. A few new cases are
[743] reported each year. Theoretically, isolation is compulsory, and the Ministry of Health maintains a leprosarium at Douma, near Damascus, which has facilities for the care of about 75 lepers.

752 Rabies. Sporadic cases of rabies are re-
164 ported. The majority result from the bites

October, when the vector sandflies, *Phlebotomus papatasii* and *P. sergenti*, are abundant.

Kala-azar is seldom specifically reported from Syria, but occasional suspected cases have been described from the Jebel ed Druz region. A canine reservoir undoubtedly exists: the causative organisms have been demonstrated in a stray dog captured at el Bab, near Aleppo.[30]

Other Infections. Outbreaks of dengue fever are sporadic in the western provinces where the vector, *Aedes aegypti*, is indigenous. Sandfly fever, transmitted by *Phlebotomus papatasii*, is endemic and sometimes epidemic.

Nutritional Diseases

Undernutrition and subclinical avitaminosis are prevalent, particularly in the rural villages, where poverty and parasitic infections influence the nutritional standards of the people to a greater extent than in the urban areas. Serious nutritional conditions are most obvious among the children of the Bedouin tribes. Minor vitamin C deficiencies are widespread among the inhabitants of the grain-producing areas in the northeastern and the southern provinces. Occasional borderline cases of pellagra are encountered, but beriberi and ariboflavinosis are unusual. Cases of rickets are numerous, especially in the cities and the towns. Protein edema and overt vitamin A deficiencies are relatively rare.

Miscellaneous Conditions

Infectious hepatitis is endemic, and epidemics are sometimes reported. Q fever is enzootic among the sheep and the goats, but the extent of human infection is not known. In a series of complement fixation tests recently performed on blood serums taken from sheep and goats in different parts of the country, positive reactions were obtained in 13 to 63 per cent.[40]

Silicosis and benign pneumoconiosis are

SYRIA MDI

Post-War Period, 1945 to 1954

Agriculture

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During the post-war period both agricultural and industrial output increased rapidly, and although population growth was fairly large there seems little doubt that per capita output rose significantly. 1/ Similarly, although data are very scanty, there is evidence of an increase in consumption and an improvement in the standard of living. 2/

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In agriculture, the increase in output was achieved by extending the acreage of cereals and greatly expanding that of cotton; there was also some improvement in methods of cultivation, especially in cotton. The total cultivated area increased from 2,344,000 hectares in 1946/47 to 3,668,000 in 1952/53. 3/ The irrigated area increased more rapidly, from 237,000 hectares 4/ to 400,000 hectares. 5/ The proportion of fallow land seems to have remained unchanged, at one-third of the total. It may therefore be taken that the crop area increased by about 60 per cent.

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The increase in the irrigated area was achieved partly by the irrigation projects discussed below, partly by installation by farmers of pumps drawing on river or underground water. In 1953, there were 7,500 pumps, of which 40 per cent were for river water and 60 per cent for underground water. The extension of rainfed crops was achieved mainly by mechanization. In 1953 there were 1,200 tractors, compared with 860 in 1951 and about 300 in 1948; 1,307 tractor ploughs, compared

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1/ National income is estimated to have risen from 1,250 million Syrian pounds in 1950 to £1,410 million in 1953; during that period, the index of wholesale prices of raw materials in Damascus (1949 = 100) fell from 111 to 110. See Saad Wafa el Dajani, "al Dakhl al Qaumi fi Suria", Al Abhath, (Beirut, December 1953); Ministry of Agriculture, A Report on the Development of Agricultural Production and Marketing in Syria, and Ministry of National Economy, Statistical Abstract of Syria, 1953 (Damascus, 1954). A breakdown for 1950 shows that 44 per cent of the total was contributed by agriculture and animal husbandry, 15 per cent by commerce, 10 per cent by industry, 9 per cent by transport and communications, 7 per cent by government services, 5 per cent by rents and 11 per cent by other activities (Dajani, op.cit.).

2/ Per capita annual consumption of cotton, woollen and rayon fibres is estimated to have risen from 4.2 kilogrammes in 1951 to 4.6 kilogrammes in 1952 and 5.1 in 1953; the figure for Lebanon and Syria combined had previously risen from 3.9 kilogrammes in 1948 to 4.8 kilogrammes in 1950 (Food and Agriculture Organization, Monthly Bulletin of Agricultural Economics and Statistics, Rome, January 1955). Output of tobacco products increased from an average of 1,638 tons in 1945-47 to 2,075 tons in 1950, 2,448 in 1952 and 2,699 in 1953.

3/ Bureau des documentations Syriennes et Arabes, La Syrie économique, 1952 (Damascus, 1954), mimeographed.

4/ Sir Alexander Gibb, Economic Development of Syria (London, 1947).

5/ Of these, some 250,000 hectares were irrigated by flow and 150,000 hectares by pumps.